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he have had? His own explanations seem wholly unsatisfactory. Into this affair Klein goes very fully. To the Spanish candidacy and its diplomatic treatment up to the outbreak of the Franco-German war he devotes not less than one-sixth of this volume. His explanation—which cannot be so reproduced, in the limits of a book-review, as to be wholly intelligible—is not in all respects convincing: to the reviewer he seems to lay too little stress on the fact that, in the spring of 1870, French and Austrian military men were planning, for 1871, a joint campaign against Prussia, and on the probability that this fact was known to Bismarck. But on the whole Klein's construction seems to be more in accordance with the facts, as far as they are known, and with the character of Bismarck, than any other which has yet been attempted.

The promised second volume, dealing with Bismarck's career subsequent to 1871, can hardly be of equal interest, and the author's political bias is likely to exercise a more disturbing influence upon his judgment; but for all that, the second volume also will doubtless be worth reading.

MUNROE SMITH.

Self-Government in Canada and how it was Achieved. The Story of Lord Durham's Report. By F. BRADSHAW, B.A. [Studies in Economics and Political Science.] (London: P. S. King and Son. 1903. Pp. vi, 414.)

THE question of the federation of the South African colonies has recalled the attention of the English people to the successive steps by which the discontented provinces, which now form the Canadian Federation, were rendered contented and prosperous and led voluntarily to seek that unity which, at one time, appeared so improbable. The new edition of Lord Durham's *Report* with notes and the publication of the volume under review show how important the consideration of the question has become. Mr. Bradshaw, an Oxford graduate, has been engaged in research work in the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the bulky volume, forming one of the studies published by the school, is the result of his labors. The study is practically confined to the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, different conditions prevailing in the maritime provinces. In both provinces the Constitutional Act of 1791 had provided for their government by a governor appointed by the Crown, who was to be advised by an appointed council and an elected assembly. The judges and most of the important heads of departments were either sent out from England or appointed from among the friends of the governor, the post-office was imperial, and the revenues were largely supplemented from the English budget. In Lower Canada the task of the governor was complicated by the fact that about seventy-five per cent. of the inhabitants were French, speaking their native language, adhering to the *Coutume de Paris* in civil cases and accepting reluctantly English common law in criminal. The remaining twenty-five per cent. were almost entirely composed of English merchants, in whom most of the wealth of the country was settled and who

bitterly resented the efforts of the French majority to gain the political supremacy. After the conclusion of the War of 1812, the struggle between the two parties steadily increased in vehemence, culminating in 1835 in the refusal of the House of Assembly to pass the budget, and in 1837 in open rebellion. In the Upper Province, the centralization of power in the hands of a small autocratic council and the inability of the new settlers to exert any influence on the government produced the same result, and in 1837 it was apparent to the English Parliament that the days for governing the provinces of British North America as Crown colonies were at an end.

Mr. Bradshaw devotes eight chapters to a carefully written summary of the history of Canada, from the cession of 1763 to the outbreak of the rebellion, tracing the development of the antagonism to the Constitutional Act and the growing clamor for responsible government. The contest in its latest stages centered upon what was the real issue, the control of the public chest, though even this the English government were prepared to grant if a guaranty were given for a permanent civil list. But too much ill-feeling had been aroused towards the nominees of the Crown to permit of a reasonable compromise, and armed insurrections broke out under Mackenzie and Papineau. In Lower Canada the *habitant* with some exceptions refused to take up arms and the rebellion was speedily crushed by Sir John Colborne, who was in temporary command. The constitution was suspended, and the special council enacted such laws as the occasion demanded. In Upper Canada it was defeated by the loyal inhabitants, who rushed to the assistance of the governor.

These were the conditions when Lord Durham arrived at Quebec. His instructions were to report upon the conditions prevailing, and to suggest some form of government by which the French and English in Lower Canada could unite without the latter's being entirely swamped, and by which the loyalists and reformers in Upper Canada might be placed on such a footing that neither could claim supremacy, and that a loyal adherence in both to the British Crown should be maintained. The solution of the difficulty which he proposed and which was accepted by the English Parliament is contained in his *Report*—a document which has long been accepted as one of the ablest state papers of the past century. The principles which it enunciated are the foundations of the self-governing, English-speaking portions of the British Empire beyond the seas.

The arguments and proposals of Lord Durham, which Mr. Bradshaw analyzes at considerable length and with admirable tact, were radical in their results. "If it [the Crown] has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence" is the key-note.

The union of the two provinces into one, the absolute control of the finances, public lands, and militia by the Canadian Parliament, and the establishment of a permanent civil list are among the recommendations.

The supremacy of the English-speaking inhabitants was established by the election of an equal number of members from the Upper and Lower provinces, so that in case of necessity the English minority in Lower Canada could unite with their brethren in the Upper. Lord Durham was strongly in favor of a federal instead of a legislative union, but was forced by circumstances to alter his plans. His wisdom, however, was justified by the failure of the legislative union and the adoption of the federal in 1866, but it is doubtful whether this result would have taken place without the fifteen years of preliminary training.

For long the currently received opinion as to the authorship of the *Report* was that "Wakefield thought it, Buller wrote it, Durham signed it," which rested on statements in the *Greville Memoirs*, J. S. Mill's *Autobiography*, and Martineau's *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace*. Dr. Garnett has, however, dissected it with great skill (*English Historical Review*, XVII. 268), and his conclusions as to the relative share of each in its composition is generally concurred in by Mr. Bradshaw. After going over the evidence very carefully it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the first part was dictated by Lord Durham, probably to Wakefield, and that the last was the work of the same hand. That Buller furnished the copy for the second part and Wakefield for the fourth seems probable, but it is evident that they were carefully revised and amended by Lord Durham. Whatever may be the claim that others have had to its preparation, it is in the recommendations of the *Report* that its strength lies, and no one now questions Lord Durham's entire responsibility for them. Mr. Bradshaw's volume is a complete vindication of Lord Durham's statesmanship, while he has not failed to point out the irritability and want of restraint which prevented him from attaining that eminence which his talents seemed to justify.

The book contains a large but not well-chosen bibliography and an excellent index. Altogether Mr. Bradshaw has done a good piece of work, the general excellence of which covers a multitude of sins in the shape of minor errors, readily made by one who is not a native of the country.

JAMES BAIN, JR.

Zur jüngsten deutschen Vergangenheit. Von KARL LAMPRECHT, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Leipzig. Zweiter Ergänzungsband, erste Hälfte. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag von Hermann Heyfelder. 1903. Pp. xvii, 520.)

THE purpose of the first part of the second volume of Lamprecht's *Zur jüngsten deutschen Vergangenheit* is to describe and interpret *das Wirtschafts- und Socialleben Deutschlands* in the nineteenth century. Introductory to the main body of the book the author gives us a hundred pages of "connecting links" between the latter portion of the *Deutsche Geschichte* and the present work. These hundred pages, we are told, may be omitted by those who are familiar with the earlier volumes or who are acquainted with the main points of the recent history